Sandra Pakidai

/3 cont./

648 484 On the Rio Demini, slightly below the Cachoeira (rapids) Auatsinaua, is the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" (Ill. 1). From the mouth to that point is a six-day journey in a small boat 161 with a four-horsepower outboard motor. On this long stretch 198 there are only two dozen families. Fifty years ago the banks along the lower third were more densely settled than they are 164 today. But malaria and a terrible beriberi epidemic, 1907/08, 165 carried off the majority of the inhabitants. After the great forest fire which raged along the Demini in 1926, health conditions 648 improved temporarily. In the most recent times a motor boat 164 of the National Malaria Service travels up the Demini and Aracá once a year, and the palm-straw huts of the inhabitants are sprayed with DDT. Nevertheless, malaria still takes its toll. Often it also leads to a protracted liver ailment; above all, there is a 164 lack of any kind of medication. A second scourge is tuberculosis, 262 the cause of which, aside from the humid, hot climate, may probably be traced to the poor and unbalanced diet. It consists predominantly of manioc meal, small fish, the salted, sun-dried meat of the pirarucu, salted wild-pig meat, and, to a considerably smaller extent, birds and game, for the men generally do not have time to hunt. In addition, /4/ for rubber and palm-fiber gatherers, fruit and vegetables are practically unknown luxuries. 164 As a result of the crowded life of the individual families and the lack of hygiene, children too are not free from tuberculosis. Moreover, mention must be made of a dangerous eye infection which often leads to blindness. This comes about because a fine dust is constantly trickling down from the palm-straw roofs of the huts, in which there are many insects, and it gets into the eyes of the people asleep in their hammocks. An infectious skin disease that causes light spots on the skin is also widespread. Worm and intestinal ailments occur frequently, as does syphilis. Finally, it is noteworthy that adults and children have very poor teeth. [162] The reason for this may again probably be sought in the unbalanced diet, for all of the free Forest Indians who have more variety in 165 their meals, have excellent teeth. Mortality is highest among the children, and next come the women, a relatively large number of whom die in childbirth since there is, of course, no medical assistance.

/4 cont./

•648 The last hut of a rubber gatherer stands one day's journey from the Indian protection post, while the post itself represents the last station of civilization. Above it the territory of the Indians begins. Here, numerous tribes hitherto entirely unknown to science still live as they did before the period of discovery. They are very warlike, so there are often bloody conflicts between them. Their malokas are usually far from the riverbank, deep in the interior of the virgin forests. Occasionally some of them visit the post in order to get gifts, that is, knives, axes, pots, glass beads, etc. They never come in contact with the civilized population on the Demini.

The personnel of the post consists of 12 men, among them several pure-blooded, civilized Tukano /Tucano/ Indians, who lead here a hard and dangerous life full of privations. Before they entered the Indian protection service, they had to pledge themselves, in their association with the free Indians, always to observe the following motto which was set up by the founder of this magnificent organization, Marshall Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon: "Morrer se preciso for, matar nunca!" ("Die if necessary, never kill!"). Their only connections with the outside world are a radio station and the motor boat of the Inspetoria des Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Manaus, which once or twice a year brings them food supplies and commodities, as well as gifts for the Indians.

Besides attending to Indian visitors, the post personnel must also see to it that the members of free Indian tribes are not exploited and badly treated by the undesirable elements of civilization, in the form of gold-seekers and other adventurers. The protection of all free Forest Indians is legally anchored in Brazil. Accordingly, no civilized person may seek out Indian tribes without permission from the management of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in Rio de Janeiro (5a). Thus, the posts represent police

5a. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios is a division of the Ministério da Agricultura.

Surára
Pakidái
Shirjana
Waica

/4 cont./

●648 agencies, so to speak, in the primeval forest. It is also one of the duties of the personnel, however, to lay out plantations for their own living, where they grow manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, bananas, mamão /papaya/, beans, tobacco, sugar cane, etc. In addition, they hunt and fish.

Since living conditions are more favorable on the Aracá and the work of the piaçabeiros (palm-fiber gatherers) is more remunerative than that of the rubber gatherers, the population here is four times as large as on the Demini. The region of the Indians begins at the Cachoeira dos Indios (Ills. 2 and 3). There is not as yet, however, any Indian protection post on the Rio Aracá.

/5/

114 III. The Ethnic Affiliation of the Surára and Pakidái

As early as the beginning of the previous century important investigators, among them Alexander von Humboldt, Robert Schomburgk, Jean Chaffanjon, and Theodor Koch-Grünberg, undertook ethnographic and in part linguistic studies in the northern and western part of the area between Rio Branco, Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro among a few groups of the Xiriána /Shiriana/ (5b) and Waiká /Waica/, which were broadened and

[104] 5b. X is pronounced like sch /in German/.

deepened by Otto Zerries and Meinhard Schuster in 1954/55, especially with regard to the Waiká (6a) (Waika) in the catchment

[194] 6a. When the Surára and Pakidái pronounce the tribal name of the Waiká, their worst enemies, they always accent the final a.

[197] area of the upper Orinoco (6b). Their work was supported by North

6b. Zerries, 1956a.

American missionaries who have been in touch with the

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/5 cont./

114
[097] aforementioned Indians for several years and used this opportunity to carry on their own ethnological investigations (7a, b). More-

7a. Barker, 1953.

7b. Finney, 1957.

over one should mention the Italian, Alfonso Vinci, who lived in southern Venezuela in 1953-1955 and there met Xiriâna and Waikâ groups (8).

8. Vinci, 1956.

On the subject of contacts with natives in the interior of that vast area between Rio Branco and Serra Parima, which Coudreau regarded as virtually unpeopled (9), that is, according to his view,

9. Coudreau, H.A., 1887, p. 255.

only west of the Rio Branco, between the lower Mucajaí and the lower Catrimani, did there live a few Indian groups "mal connus et redoutés" known as evil and feared/ (10), Georges Salathé

10. Coudreau, H. A., 1887, p. 247 and Map V.

and Donald Holdridge alone have reported as yet (11). The

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● 648

11. The area between Rio Branco, Rio Uraricuera, Serra Parima, and Rio Negro, as well as the region east of the Rio Branco, have for a long time been regarded as dangerous because, as Alexander von Humboldt and Robert Schomburgk have already reported, several of the tribes living there are supposed to have a very

/5 cont./

114
●648

11. (cont.)
hostile attitude toward the whites as well as toward neighboring Indians. Since the rubber gatherers, palm-fiber gatherers, etc. on the Demini, Aracá, and the other rivers usually do not advance beyond the middle course, to say nothing of visiting the regions away from the rivers, the Indians only rarely feel disturbed in their territory. The incidents mentioned below, however, which have taken place there within the last 30 years, confirm that hostility on the part of a few tribes continues and may at any time lead to new acts of violence:
1928: Surára Indians, in an attack on a settlement of palm-fiber gatherers on the Rio Aracá, abducted two white women and a girl.
1942: Jaú Indians shot at the Brazilian-Venezuelan border commission on the upper Demini and forced it to turn back; two members of the commission were seriously wounded by arrow shots.
1945: Five American officers were killed by arrow shots by the Aimirí Indians on the Rio Jauaperi. They had gone up the river in a motor boat in order to take motion pictures of Indians there. The Brazilian guide, who was the only one to escape, later said that the Indians disliked the whirring of the camera and had several times urged the Americans to go back.
1946: The Aimirí Indians attacked the Indian protection post on the Rio Jauaperi and killed ten men of the personnel.

114 former, with regard to the Karimé Indians living on the upper course of the Catrimani, gives a brief sketch of their material

/8 cont./

173 175 however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waikâ tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post [648] Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

[114]

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriâna here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

114 174 10

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriâna (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriâna, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriâna adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriâna, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriâna" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianâ" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

114
174
101

41. (cont.)
pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 89) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriâna it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriâna with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriâna whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischâna" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
• 648 Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriâna tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

101
114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriâna, etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá.

/8 cont./

175 According to statements of old palm-fiber gatherers on the
•648 Aracá, no Indians appeared on this river from the end of the previous century to the end of the twenties of our century. During the months of October and November of the year 1927, palm-fiber gatherers on their way to their places of work saw for the first time small and relatively light-skinned Indians disappearing into the forest thickets. In December, 1927, and January/February, 1928, the settlements were attacked by Indians several times, but the palm-fiber gatherers always managed to put them to flight. During the forenoon of June 28, 1928, there was another attack during which two wives of rubber gatherers and a 12-year-old girl were abducted. After this abduction there was no further Indian attack. Not until 16 years later, in January, 1944, did six
[439] Indians appear, but this time with friendly intent. They called themselves Surára and wanted to barter for articles of civilization. Later they admitted that their tribe had carried out the earlier attacks. In reply to questions about the two abducted women and the girl, they said that they had died. /9/ The palm-fiber gatherers did not bear them any malice for their previous hostile attitude, for they were glad that they could now carry on their work without fear of the Indians.

439 The Surára cling to their old habits and customs and visit the palm-fiber gatherers only when they want to barter for knives,
[115] axes, pots, etc. According to the statements of the chief of the Surára, they are forced by the Xiriána to barter with the palm-fiber gatherers, for they are obliged to deliver to them all the articles obtained (see also pages 157/163); the Xiriána themselves never have any contact with the civilized inhabitants.

648 In August of the year 1944 the Indian protection post founded in 1940 on the Rio Demini was visited for the first time by some Pakidái. At rather long intervals there have been further visits
[619] by various families of this tribe up to the present time. They, too, however, come at the request of the Xiriána and must hand over to them all the gifts.

/9 cont./

114 This shows that nothing has changed since 1948, when Métraux,
178 following the accounts of Koch-Grünberg and other investigators
181 traveling through this region, quite justifiably wrote: "The
648 Shirianá are very warlike people who succeeded in dominating several weaker tribes" /cited in English/ (42).

42. Métraux, 1948, p. 861.

141 V. Physical Characteristics

With regard to physical characteristics, the Surára and Pakidái are identical. Their height is below average, for the men are only 1.50-1.60 meters tall and the women 1.40-1.50 meters.
142 Both sexes have soft but muscular body forms, yet frequently a
[291] protruding abdomen and often relatively thin legs. Since they always go barefoot, their feet have retained the ability to serve as prehensile organs for climbing tree trunks, and their toes are not squeezed together as much as in the case of civilized persons who wear shoes all the time. The considerable gap between the great toe and the second toe is striking (Ill. 14) (43). The color

43. Crevaux has already pointed this out in connection with the Oyampí Indians in French Guiana: "The great toe, very much set apart, always turns inward, while the third, fourth, and fifth are turned outward" /translated from the French/ (Crevaux, 1880, p. 76 and ill., left).

of their skin is very light, almost white. The forehead of the dolicocephalic head is often flat. Their broad noses with the nostrils directed slightly upward are noteworthy; the root of the nose, on the other hand, is narrow. The Mongoloid strain is clearly evident in the prominent cheekbones and the slanting, dark-brown, almost black-looking eyes. Between the slightly

/34 cont./

292 191 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/, moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [177] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

177 291 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and 194 Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, 184 which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 191

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

/57 cont./

VII. Social Organization

1. General

619

In the case of the Surára and the Pakidái, these are sovereign tribes, who, however, live together in connubium. The same extends to the friendly Xiriána /Shiriana/, Pusheweterf, Aramamesterf, etc.

648 161 [842] [164] [165] [726] Although the Indians investigated by me have very little contact with palm-fiber gatherers or the personnel of the Indian protection post Ajuricaba on the Demini, their population is steadily decreasing for the following reasons: birth control; high infant mortality as a result of the lack of hygiene; diseases, chiefly measles epidemics (312), but also chicken pox and grippe;

> 312. In 1952/53, for example, a measles epidemic spread like a wave from the lower Amazonas as far as the Brazilian-Colombian border area and brought death to many Indians. [115] (Statement by Herr Alipio Edmundo Lage, Inspector of 1a. Inspetoria do Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, Manaus).

and frequent wars (313).

> 313. On the occasion of an attack on a hostile maloka, an attempt is made to kill all the men, young men, and boys, insofar as possible, while the women and girls are taken along as captives.

2. Names

551 162 [16] The exact number of Surára at the time of my stay among them amounted to only 64 (314) and consisted of the following:

[114]

> 314. In the first reports of my investigations I erroneously gave the number as 42 (Becher, 1957a, p. 118; Becher, 1958, p. 157).

Surára
Pakidái

175
764
785
791
[MS]

/73 cont./
and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

619
●648
721

5. War -- nfanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

619 /74 cont./
● 648 extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.
721

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

2: Becher--266 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surara
Pakidái

/1/

137
133
●648

Ill. 1. Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" on the middle Rio Demini

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate

MAMB.

Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

Y
101
[127]

/182 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-313), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

Y
648
P
M
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361

From their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harassed their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuous raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

Y
M
648
361

The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

/182 cont./

the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricaparâ, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

Sanema
Casapare
Pemon 5516

/183 cont./

At the other end of the island of Maraca the territory of the Taurepan (Pemón) begins, and it is interesting to note that about the year 1911 the Casapare, under the command of one captain Kuranaí, had established peaceful contacts with the neighboring Caribe for the purpose of acquiring by barter European utensils, which they valued very highly. The custom of cultivating small plantings, which were noted by Schomburgk, Koch-Grünberg, and Gheerbrandt (1955, p. 345), must also be of Caribe origin.

Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 302-308) was able to publish the first vocabulary of a Yanoama language, and, as the same author points out, some words of Caribe origin can be distinguished in this idiom of the Urariçaparú River, /184/ but almost all of them refer to utensils and cultivated plants of Caribe or European origin.

The other group (Waica?) was visited by Koch-Grünberg four weeks after his first encounter with Yanoama people, with whom he lived in a rancheria on the Motomotó across from the Sierra Marutani. This group had relations with the Makú of the Auri River, from whom they adopted certain cultural elements, such as agriculture. We do not have a vocabulary from this group, but, according to information given to Koch-Grünberg by his native companions, they speak the same Yanoama idiom with slight dialectal differences.

The expansion of the Casapare toward the north is of recent date, since their sworn enemies, the inhabitants of the Paragua, as well as the Pemón to the northeast, ceased their reprisals and allowed the unhindered advance of the Yanoama nomads. It seems that at the same time the Sanemá of the southwest and the Casapare began to invade the zone. At the present time, the Yanoama dominate as far as the Marí River, a left tributary of the Paragua (5° 10'). The Pemón to the east of the Paragua have vacated the space between this river and the Caroní. Their nuclei are to be found on the Gran Sabana, in the southeastern part of Venezuela. Under the joint influence of civilization and the mission they have lost their characteristics as Caribe

P
197 /184 cont./ Casapare
799 Auake 555
161 Pemon 5516

expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

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177 The Mayongon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make
●648 an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

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101 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama
619 are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

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A
104 Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armeilada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

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241 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce
433 only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the
439 Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

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501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying light loads.

A
512 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even
A with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as
101 a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 269

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

226 342 411 491 514

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayongon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Ararikuera and Parima, to Boavista They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

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The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

Y 174 101 /189 cont./

The expantion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Puhmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 184 The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 ● 648 167 The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y 167 This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their

Y M 643 neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y M [179] with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

Y M 648 and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4 [411] the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

/190 cont./

thanks to their firearms. It seems that, as a result of this incident, the Makiritare and the northern group of the Sanemá lived together more peaceably, and today it is rare to find a Makiritare settlement in that zone of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, without a few Sanemá groups in the immediate vicinity.

The clash of the two cultures began a process of progressive acculturation, and the hunters and gatherers of wild plants adopted a superior culture: from then on they would be agriculturalists. Furthermore, the genetic constitution of the two tribes underwent profound changes, and that of the minority group will perhaps be absorbed by the Sanemá in a relatively short period of time.

This process of acculturation and genetic absorption is interesting, for one is in the habit of thinking that the Caribe have always been the victorious and dominant invaders. But in this concrete case the process seems to be working in the opposite direction. The advance of the Sanemá, who adopted, among other things, the art of navigation, has brought about the isolation of the two large Makiritare groups: the Yecuana (Decuana) of the Ventuari and Caura on the one hand, and the Cunuhana of the Cunucunuma on the other. Prior to this, these two groups used to visit each other frequently, their members were related to each other, and strong family ties existed between them. At the present time the Makiritare youths know only partially the rivers and routes of those regions traveled so many times by their fathers, and they travel in small groups, overcome with deep anguish every time that they have to cross the zone occupied by the Sanemá. What was observed on the trip on the upper Ventuari fully confirmed this opinion for us, for there is not the least doubt but that the Makiritare captain, who, together with our five traveling companions, had fought eight years previously against the Sanemá, felt ill at ease on leaving the Makiritare rancherías behind, and his nervousness suddenly increased when one day we came upon a Sanemá raft on the bank of the river. They could not hide their nervousness when inland, in the selva, we came across a conuco and seven houses recently vacated. They always

Makiritare SS 20

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●648 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

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[186] A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will

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648 dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, arrived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up residence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

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101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

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797 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New

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114 Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

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241 [177] Among the Sanemá, doubtless as a result of their contact with their Macú and Caribe neighbors, agriculture has taken on increasing importance. The manner of cultivation is still very rudimentary, that of "slash and burn." The principal products are: plantains, bananas, sweet and bitter yuca, ocumo /malanga/, and certain herbs which have magical importance (cf. Barker, 824 241 1953, p. 444, similar plants among the Waica). Among the magical plants of the Sanemá there is one on which they lavish great care. An informant told us about the general consternation which seized all of them one day when a band of enemies tore up, during the night, all the magical plants of their conucos. They believed that they were going to die or at least become sick, and the "sablf had much work" in order to save his people. There is here a similar belief which we have already noted in connection with the eagles and hanekasá.

241 178 [628] Agriculture has given a degree of stability to the Sanemá subgroups and has introduced changes in their traditional social system. Not all the groups have adopted this new economy and disputes and fights frequently arise because the gatherers indiscriminately appropriate the products of a conuco of the agricultural group. [648] That was the motive which caused the Makiritare to fight with the Sanemá, who at that time had still not adopted the agriculture which flourished among their neighbors.

231 [092] The Sanemá do not have domestic animals, and even dogs are uncommon. It is possible that the Yanoama have adopted them recently. They have still not found a specific name for this animal, and they call it póliawan, like the jaguar. Some informants insisted that there is a phonetic difference between the word póiawan = jaguar and póliawan = dog, but there cannot be the slightest doubt but that the same word is involved. They raise dogs so that they may serve them as helpers in hunting.

In a Sanemá rancheria there are frequently found animals of various species, but tame. The hunters take home young turkeys, cranes, macaws, and parrots, as well as guinea pigs, lapas, and monkeys, as presents for their wives or children. /Illustrations appear here./

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, [648] successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

114 Although sporadic and rather casual information on the several Yanoama groups have been published by various authors since early Colonial time, it is only

122 1 We wish to thank: Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfield (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Matson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with ethical anti-sera.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'So long as they don't break it!' I laughed cheerfully. But the Indian's doleful look discouraged my levity.

Luis Antonio told me that the existence of guns was no secret to the Samatari. They knew they were weapons, but had no idea how they worked. It all went back to a story we had heard on the Canaracuni, which had the clear ring of truth, though we had been unable to establish the date of the events.

A Brazilian expedition, possibly *garimpeiros*, or diamond seekers, had once gone up the Uraricoera river in a boat with a motor. They were probably about as far up from the mouth as we were now on the Samatari river—the Aracoea. These were the first civilized men ever to venture into the region, and they were well armed, as Brazilians living in forested areas generally are—in this respect differing greatly from the Venezuelans who never bother to carry more than some old gun and a stick. The four of them were going up the river with this outboard motor craft when they were hailed from the bank by a group of Indians. They brought the boat round, and as the bows touched the shore the Indians sent a well-aimed volley of arrows which struck the three Brazilians sitting for'ard. The man at the motor then fired a few shots, with what weapon I don't know, and in his turn laid low a number of Indians—four, to be exact, according to the version we heard. He then managed to swing the boat round and went back down river at full speed, eventually getting away to safety.

This was the occasion on which the Indians had got to know of guns and firearms in general, in all their terrible efficiency. But their knowledge was not to be limited to this. After a hair-raising trip the survivor reached Boa Vista, the capital of the Federal Territory of Rio Branco. There he told his tale, and authority very soon decided to take measures—and when Brazil takes such measures they are very stern. They sent out two planes, with the survivor to do the path-finding, and when they reached the approximate scene of the affray they looked for traces of Indian camps. These they bombed and machine-gunned, 'many times killing the hands and feet of the Shirians' as we were told by the Makiritari at Canaracuni, these latter being obviously quite pleased about it. From that time onwards, guns and bombs from the air were awe-inspiring bogeys, and in this connection I found myself thinking of Uarema's threats to Pancho at the Llantarigña landing. And in our hearts we couldn't but feel grateful towards the Brazilians whose stern measures had seen to it that the voice of the clothes-wearing men had reached as far as these strange ape-men we were with now.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS20

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[648]

gave him nine metres of cotton cloth and sent him home, highly delighted, with all his companions.

To cross from the Turucuma to the Merevari, according to our reckoning, should take us two days, along a well-beaten track much used by the Indians in their frequent comings and goings between the two rivers. But owing to the excessive weight of our baggage the two days became five, because we had to cover each stage of the journey twice. The Makiritari played another trick on us here: at the last minute they produced a number of Shirians from Pulipuli out of a hat, by some conjuring trick, and made them do the work for them. Naturally the Shirians claimed that we ought to pay them, even if payment only amounted to a small piece of cloth and one machete. Any attempt on our part to put this injustice right would have been over-optimistic, and would probably have had unpleasant consequences: there was nothing to do but submit ourselves once again to the caprice of the 'superior race'.

On the last lap of the portage, when we were waiting for the Indians to come up from the previous halt with the last of the baggage, a horde of savage Shirians came along. At first we were alarmed. To judge by their hair they were Guayca or Samatari, but they presented an extraordinarily squalid appearance. Nevertheless, they must have had some gleam of humanity in them, because the leaders—including two old fellows who looked more like champion cattle than anything else—came forward unarmed, after making a great show of laying their bows and arrows on the ground so that the gesture shouldn't be lost on us. They were Ukumatari, a tribe living in these parts: they had sent their emissaries on a courtesy visit to Kirisochi last year. Little by little they came crowding up on us in our little hut-shelter: we had a job to keep a clear space for ourselves and prevent them from surrounding us completely. At last Pedro came along, having out-distanced the main body of porters, and at the sight of this invasion he looked badly scared.

'Samatari?' he asked, setting down the load he was carrying on his back, and keeping his eyes averted.

'Ukumatari!'—the response came in a chorus from those nearest us, as if they were anxious to make a good impression.

At that, Pedro looked more himself again, and began to eye the Ukumatari-Shirians carefully, searching for a familiar face. He had lived round the Turucuma for a long time and must have had some previous contacts with these

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

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than a few inches across. All had their ears pierced by sticks slightly thicker and longer than a cigarette. Their paddles were short and as crudely constructed as the boat itself, some being roughly rounded and others no more than discs lashed with lianas to a pole handle.

To these primitives we must have appeared a strange collection. Who are these beings—they must have asked themselves—who go about dressed, shod and bearded, and who point queer things at us which go "click"? And the many boats lined up there, that go so fast and make much noise! Mopare had probably told them wonderful tales, but since he had left the camp when it was still in embryo, he was doubtless as much amazed by its present size as the others. There was a moment of hesitancy and then Butrón held out a machete and said: "*Shori! Shori! Noji!*" He told us this meant "friend" or "relative". In exchange for the machete, he demanded the man's bow and arrows. The size of the bow surprised me, since it was taller than the man himself. One by one the Indians disembarked and surrendered their arms in exchange for machetes. All except a fine, well-built brave who seemed to be their leader and who remained sitting in the stern of the boat, watchful and silent. The women, still cowering, stayed near him. At last, seeing his companions on shore and our attitude giving no cause for mistrust, he was reassured. Courteously and with dignity he held out a hand to the women, who were still apprehensive.

"Padamo?" we asked him.

"Padamu, Padamu," he replied.

[194]
The final vowel, nasal and strongly accentuated, lies between "o" and "ou". The word is indigenous and has been the river's official nomenclature since the time of Diez de la Fuente.

"Guaharibo?"

Another nasal sound which cannot be transcribed followed. It was a sort of grunt and could have meant "Yes". And then: "Guaharibo".

"Waïka?"

[648]
A worried look, followed by the gesture of bending a bow.

"Waïka—pfft! Waïka—pfft!"

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

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[648] From this we deduced that the Waïkas and the Guahariboș, although belonging to the same racial group, do not always live together in complete harmony.

142 Generally speaking, the Guaharibo is not as tall as the average white man. Though he is of slender build, his chest is thick-set and his arms are muscular and we attributed this to his regular use of his immensely powerful bow. His skin is lighter than that of the Makiritares and his eyes are brighter. His hair, too, is less dark and is cut with a fringe all round the head. Body hair is but feebly developed and the men are [302] practically beardless. The two women in the boat were delicately made and quite pretty; they adopted a similar hairstyle to the men but rather longer. Their breasts, small and conical, contrasted with the opulent, hemispherical breasts of the [302] Makiritare women. One of them was clearly the wife of the leader of the party; the other appeared to belong to one of the men with the charcoal-blackened face.

123 Our Guaharibos very quickly became less suspicious, though they still kept close together. Each grasped his machete as though it were treasure, the women and children doing so, [136] too. Hardly had they disembarked than they were assaulted by the *plaga*, which were always at their worst at this time of day. The unfortunate Guaharibos in their nakedness fell an easy prey to them and were soon hopping about and slapping themselves with their hands and the flat blades of the machetes. Obviously they had come from a less infested country, probably from the banks of a black water river.

"General" Butrón, who had several times had contact with the Padamo Guaharibos—or at least with their cousins the Waïkas—suddenly produced a bundle of incredible rags which he had picked up God-knows-where, and began to distribute them. The scene that followed was quite grotesque. The women were no more capable of putting on a dress than the men were of donning trousers. We had to dress them as if they were infants, and replace missing buttons by string. As soon as night fell and the *jejenes* left us in peace, they promptly discarded these embarrassing and tawdry impediments.

We made over to them a newly-built *rancho* situated in the

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

He told us that the

499 building of their crude bridges is a lengthy and laborious business and quite impossible when the river was in spate.

123 We returned to the river to find that those we had left behind had removed the boats to a safe distance—a wise precaution, since it was desirable not to excite the greed of the natives. Many an expedition, we knew, had failed through being looted because this elementary precaution had [648] been overlooked. Furthermore, such incidents can lead to serious conflict, as Cardona had learnt on more than one occasion. When dealing with such primitives, caution, good humour and nursery diplomacy are the essential safeguards.

As we pressed on up-river other Waikas hailed us from the banks. We did not stop, nor did we make any presents of *manioc*, knives and machetes to those who followed us, running through the undergrowth, and gesticulating and shouting as they ran. We spent the night in the shelter of a rocky island they could not reach.

The Guaharibo Rapids

123 By now the river's width was no more than a hundred and 133 fifty yards. Though its course no longer wound as it had, the current was no less strong. Rocky banks that plunged steeply into the water and boulders across the river-bed created violent currents and our engines had to go full out to give us the least headway. If the water had been low we should have been able to pass only with the greatest of difficulty. We passed through one such rocky race which Butrón said was the Guaharibo Rapids. Actually they were the Yamaraquin Rapids marked on Hamilton Rice's map and characterized by a huge pyramid-shaped reef. Butrón called the rapids, where we intended setting up Base Camp 2, the Waïka Rapids, distinguished, so he said, by a group of islands of rock and sand, of which two were comparatively large. These were mentioned by both Rice and Dickey, who called them the Guaharibo Rapids. Rice gave their precise position as Latitude 2° 18' 18" N., Longitude 64° 38' 46" W. We arrived there at eight o'clock on the morning of the 17th. [13]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of Thesis

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This is a functional study of one form of marriage practiced by the Yąnomamö Indians of southern Venezuela. The form of marriage considered here--recruitment of wives from other villages for the purpose of initiating and maintaining political alliances--constitutes a departure by the Yąnomamö from their preferred form of marriage. I wish to emphasize the point that these marriages constitute a predictable and necessary departure from the ambilateral cross-cousin preferences. I will show in the space below how a number of variables are related to each other to bring about the exceptional marriages.

The fact that normative rules of behavior and actual behavior differ considerably from each other in most societies has received little theoretical attention, particular in regard to analyses of marriage systems. For the most part we presume that exceptions to stated marriage preferences represent a measure of the breakdown of the society under consideration, due to contacts with other societies. Yąnomamö exceptional marriages[1] cannot be dismissed with this line of

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[1] Of 56 recently contracted marriages in three of the villages investigated, 31 cases were breaches of the preferred ambilateral cross-cousin marriage rules for the purpose of establishing political ties between the groups of the spouses.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
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583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*629 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
*621 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
921 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such
152 that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
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*[621] [1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

175 contact with a Yąnomamö village on the upper Orinoco. Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, has been living continuously with the Yąnomamö since 1950, except for an occasional furlough to the United States. Three months after Barker arrived at Mahekodo-tedi, the members of that village took in a group of refugees from another village, a village that had just been the victim of a treacherous feast. Those refugees were the present residents of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi, the two groups with whom I spent most of my time in the field. The treacherous feast invitation and the subsequent events will be outlined in detail below; suffice it to say at this point that the event was an important one in the history of these villages and its date is known (1951).

175 648 726 The second dated event was the abduction of a Brazilian girl from her home in the upper Cauabury area by the members of two Yąnomamö villages, Kohoroshi-tedi and Karawatari-urihi-tedi. The history of Nabëyoma ("woman of the foreigners"), as she was called by the Yąnomamö, may be told briefly. The members of the village of Kohoroshi-tedi, a splinter group from Karawatari's village, moved down the Shukumöna-u and began to hunt in the area southwest of their new village site. Occasionally they came across signs of foreigners, whom they were interested in locating in the hope of acquiring steel tools. On one hunt the Yąnomamö saw the foreigners and discovered their house. The Indians returned to Kohoroshi-tedi and the headman of the village, Ohiriwë, organized a raiding party, which also included men from

Karawatari's village.

The raiders attacked the foreigners at dawn but were driven off by gunfire; a number of the Indians were killed, among them a man called Hokohenawä, and some of the foreigners were allegedly hit with arrows. The Indians managed to capture a young girl, taking her back to Karawatari's village on the Shukumõna-u. Shortly after arriving at Karawatari's village, the abductors were in turn raided by another Shamatari village, then on the Upper Mavaca River under the leadership of Matakuwä, one of the two "original" Shamatari men. Karawatari's group had split from Matakuwä's group and was on hostile terms with it. The girl was taken by Matakuwä's men on this raid and brought to the Mavaca River. Matakuwä's village was on a branch of the Mavaca River called Kedebabõwei-u when Nabäyoma was abducted from Karawatari's group. Zerries (1964:14) gives 1934 as the date of the abduction of Nabäyoma, whereas Seitz (1963:21) places it a little earlier.

In Matakuwä's village, Nabäyoma was given to Yoyonahi's son; he shot her with a barbed arrow for disobeying him and the girl fled into the woods to nurse her wound. At this time Matakuwä's group was on friendly terms with the residents of Patanowä-tëka (who are now living in three distinct villages and constitute the groups from whom most of my data were taken). On one of their visits, the residents of Patanowä-tëka found Nabäyoma in the woods outside Matakuwä's village and took her home with them when they left after visiting.

At Patanowã-tëka she was given to Husiwã, by whom she had two sons (Orakuwã and Kariunawã). The approximate date of her move to Patanowã-tëka is 1935; it could not be much later, because a war broke out between Matakuwã's group and the group at Patanowã-tëka shortly after this date, and no visitors went between these two villages after hostilities commenced.

When the Patanowã-tëka group separted into two villages, Nabëyoma remained with the group that is presently called Patanowã-tedi. The two splinter groups entered into hostilities with each other shortly after they separated, and Nabëyoma's husband, Husiwã, was one of the first casualties. Nabëyoma, her co-wife (Shǫrǫkoma), and all their children fled from Husiwã's group and joined the other, cognate, group. Shǫrǫkoma, originally abducted from yet another Shamatari village, later returned to Patanowã-tedi, but Nabëyoma stayed with Patanowã-tedi's enemies. In 1951 when the treacherous feast was pulled on the group to which Nabëyoma belonged and the group fled to Mahekodo-tedi for protection, Nabëyoma was given to a man in Mahekodo-tedi, Remoriwã, as part of the cost of the alliance.

While Nabëyoma lived at Mahekodo-tedi, Barker and his colleague, David Landon, discovered that she still remembered how to write her name (Elena Valero). They informed the authorities in Puerto Ayacucho that a Brazilian woman was living with the Yąnomamǫ, presumable abducted by them from one of the settlements across the border, but

175 before action could be taken, Nabëyoma's new husband left
• 648 Mahekodo-tedi for his own village (Buinabŏwei-tedi), taking with him Nabëyoma, her two sons by Husiwë, and his own son by Nabëyoma.

[997] The Salesian Mission in Puerto Ayacucho was authorized to handle the affair and they sent a party of men to Buinabŏwei-tedi. The Indians did not wish to lose one of their women and the Salesian Mission party had to resort to forceful but prudent measures to recover Nabëyoma. She was returned to her family in Brazil in late 1956. Remoriwë subsequently made two unsuccessful trips to Brazil to find her.

174 As indicated above, the histories as I have recon-
175 structed them are no more than approximations as far as geographical locations and dates of occupation of the various sites are concerned. I am fairly certain, however, that the events themselves are accurately reported, especially those having to do with the warfare and raiding, because I obtained virtually identical versions from several informants on dif-
173 ferent occasions. The Yanomamŏ are good historians when it
726 comes to warfare. They have to be, lest they accept invi-
*628 tations to visit villages that have old grudges against them. All of them, even young children, know who killed their relatives and the circumstances in which the killings took place. These are the subject of constant discussion in the villages.
124 The first few descriptions I recorded of the 1950-51 feast
173 in which my group was victimized by a Shamatari village were obtained from young men who could not possibly have witnessed

101 175 The first evidence that [31] the Yąnomamö had penetrated the Mavaca Basin comes from a brief comment in Rice's account (1921) of his exploration of the Upper Orinoco. His guide, a Baré Indian, told him that the 'Guaharibos' had killed his brother ". . . near the sources of the Umauaca."[1] There is no historical evidence that the Yąnomamö occupied the Mavaca basin any earlier than this date (ca. 1915-20), save for scattered reports of unidentified 'wild tribes' alleged to dwell in these regions. My own data support this.

By 1925 the Yąnomamö were reported to be raiding settlements along the upper Cauabury River and soon were raiding the north bank of the Rio Negro itself. The Brazilian settlers eventually abandoned this area because of the raids (Seitz, 1963:19, 20, 21; Zerries, 1964:14). [64]

The historical evidence suggests, then, that the Yąnomamö have entered this large area only recently. This is supported by the accounts given to me by the Yąnomamö, who further describe the occupants of the area as Shamatari, a usage based in part on the historical interconnectedness of the villages that spread into the area, and in part on geographical considerations. Yąnomamö villages unrelated to the original group led by Kayabawë (Shamatari) have entered this area, and their northern neighbors refer to them as Shamatari, even though these villages are not historically related to Kayabawë's and their members deny being Shamatari.

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[1] Ibid., p. 341.

*628 past. Finally, there is no way of scoring 'promises' to
*621 exchange women, and the strength of the shoriwĕ tie between
602 members of two distinct villages is largely a function of
583 such promises.

*621 Summarizing the difference in agnatic and affinal
602 ties, the important point is that affinal ties have the
618 potential of changing in their coefficient of solidarity when exchanges between two descent groups continues over time. It is largely for this reason that villages reduce to clusters of affinally related dual organizations (paired patrilineal local descent groups) that have exchanged women in the past and will probably continue to do so in the future.

C. Ferocity and Bellicosity

773 According to the Yąnomamö Moon Myth, Uhudima, a
828 Spirit, shot Moon with an arrow. The drop of blood that fell to the earth flowed over the surface, causing all Yąnomamö to become fierce. Ever since that time the Yąnomamö have behaved fiercely, because they were born in blood.

828 The Yąnomamö regard themselves as being violent,
577 coercive, crafty and quick to display aggressiveness; they
829 value this behavior. Yąnomamö contacts with other tribes
• 648 and with civilized foreigners have been consistently hostile until about 1955. They have succeeded in exterminating one tribe,[1] and have caused a number of villages of another tribe to relocate in order to avoid the attacks mounted on them by

[1] The Maku; see Migliazza, 1965.

829
• 648 the Yąnomamö. This process is still going on.

794
152 Ferocity and violence is further reflected in Yąnomamö cosmology. In their conception, the human soul has three
[753] parts. One of these parts, the nąreshi, is capable of leav-
[761] ing the body; when it does so, the person becomes ill and dies unless it (the nąreshi) returns. The nąreshi are inherited patrilineally for males and matrilineally for females.
[825] Each human nąreshi has an animal or bird counterpart whose life is coextensive and coterminous with that of the human to which it corresponds. Many of the nąreshi are types of animals commonly taken by hunters. Thus, when the Yąnomamö kill game animals, they believe they also kill the human being to whom that nąreshi corresponds.[1] Hence, hunting in the eyes of the Yąnomamö is behaving fiercely, for every nąreshi animal killed also results in the death of some human, usually an enemy.

(754) Shamanism also deals in ferocity, for the Yąnomamö
[756] shamans all claim to take mysterious trips to the villages of their enemies and eat the nąreshi of the enemy's children.

*221
156 The complex of ferocity has an important consequence
152 in Yąnomamö social organization, as aggressive behavior detracts from the solidarity of alliances between villages and creates tension within villages. Men are constrained to act ferociously and seize on every opportunity to coerce others in order to display aggressiveness. Most of the displays of

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[1] They are not concerned about killing their own nąreshi, for humans and their nąreshi animals live in complementary distribution.

remained on good terms with each other. Their split occurred in 1954, perhaps a year earlier.

When I initiated my field work in 1964 Monou-tëka was still occupied, but its population, the Monou-tedi, was in the process of making a new garden (Moyanabŏwei) west of Monou to avoid the raids of the Patanowë-tedi, with whom they had entered into a new war in 1964.

The faction that moved to Barawë remained at that site about five years. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River, taking the name Bisaasi-tedi, in 1959, splitting into two villages, each located on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. By 1958 the Venezuelan Government had initiated a malaria-control program in this area of Amazonas and had established a small field station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Venezuelans associated with this field station invited the Barawë-tedi to move to the Mavaca River; the Indians accepted the invitation, hoping to gain access to steel tools. This was the beginning of contact with outsiders for the Kreibŏwei-tedi; prior to 1959 the only foreigners they had known were the missionary at Mahekodo-tedi, James P. Barker, and the members of the Frobenius Institute Expedition, Meinhard Schuster and Otto Zerries, who they visited occasionally at Mahekodo-tedi.

Area 12: Bisaasi-tedi

The Bisaasi-tedi began friendly contacts with a Shamatari village, Paruritawë-tedi, after they moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River.

occupying five different sites, each having its own house and garden. These five groups recombined into a single unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the southwest of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated. On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of Yąnomamö from those whose social organization is described in this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Corresponding to this increase in intensity is a change in type of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically or not at all to the northeast.

There is likewise an apparent cline in population density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity. Yąnomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However, another factor complicates the picture: the Yąnomamö have more contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shjhota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 726 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 721 *628 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [841] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, *621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to estab- [648] lish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement *621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mąmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.